



An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

Third edition
2021

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Six months after the completion of the SWF, the Management Committee of the Cornish Language Partnership met and considered a few immediate issues. A review of the Standard Written Form was held, as promised, in 2013 and this second edition of the Specification has been updated to include the amendments made by the Review Board, following examination

of the issues raised by users during that process. Thanks are due to the members of the Review Board, Vanessa Beeman (Chair), George Ansell, Albert Bock, Peter Harvey (Co-opted Chair), Neil Kennedy, Maureen Pierce, Polin Prys, Esme Tackley for their work on this.

This Third Edition is published by the Akademi Kernewek and consolidates all the work by the aforementioned people over the last decade. The Akademi Kernewek now has the remit for any continuing and future development of the Standard Written Form.

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Foreword

It is now over a decade since the publication of the first specification for the Standard Written Form (SWF) and seven years since the publication of the Review. The Akademi Kernewek is now the lead organisation for corpus planning and the Akademi thanks all of those involved in the process of standardisation that has helped to strengthen the position of Cornish and enabled its official use.

This document is the first version of the specification to be published by the Akademi Kernewek. This consolidates the original specification from 2008 and the changes made in the Review of 2014 and will form the base reference for the SWF. The word list is now replaced by the Akademi's online dictionary and the guides for use are no longer required as the SWF is now widely used by speakers and teachers. The guides for different orthographies are available upon request if required.

The Akademi Kernewek will refine guidance within the specification periodically through its work where this would be helpful to users, but it is mindful of the need for stability and will keep changes to a minimum. The Akademi also intends to produce a briefer user guide to assist students and speakers later in 2021.

With the specification in place, the focus of the Akademi's work will be to expand the resources available in the Standard Written Form, particularly the dictionary, and to support the use of Cornish as a modern, spoken language in the community.

1. The Standard Written Form

The Standard Written Form (SWF) for Cornish represents a common ground for users of all existing orthographies and for speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish. The SWF is not meant to replace other spelling systems, but rather to provide public bodies and the educational system with a universally acceptable, inclusive, and neutral orthography. As such, it incorporates features drawn from a number of different Cornish orthographies, including Unified Cornish, Kernewek Kemmyn, Modern Cornish, Unified Cornish Revised, Kernowek Standard, and Kernewek Dasunys.

In order to accommodate the range of variation in the modern spoken language, the SWF is much more inclusive of variant forms than any previous Cornish orthography. Care has been taken to construct a system which speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish can learn to use quickly and easily, in a manner which suits their linguistic and aesthetic preferences. Even users who have not had formal instruction in the SWF should find it relatively easy to read.

Although this document presents a complete description of the features and principles of the SWF, it is in many ways only a starting point. As the SWF is put to use in schools and in public life, it will be necessary to compile dictionaries and grammars, standardise terminology, and add new words to the lexicon. The Akademi Kernewek, with a remit for corpus development is key to this process. It is also likely that the SWF will be subject to periodic review, so that adjustments may be made to better serve the needs of the contemporary Cornish-speaking community. The authors of the specification tried to provide as broad a base as possible for this future work, which is why a large number of variant forms – reflecting the usage of different groups of Cornish speakers – are included.

1.1. General Principles

The SWF largely follows the principles for a common orthography set out in the draft for Kernewek Dasunys. These are:

1. **Inclusivity** – Users of all varieties of Revived Cornish should be able to write as they speak.
2. **Accessibility** – The SWF should be as easy as possible for speakers, learners, and teachers to learn and use.
3. **Accuracy** – The SWF should reflect the pronunciation of both traditional and Revived Cornish.
4. **Authenticity** – The SWF should use spellings that reflect established traditions of Cornish orthography.

A fifth principle was added to these, suggested by the Cornish Language Commission:

5. **Continuity** – Where practical, the SWF should produce the smallest possible number of changes for the largest possible number of speakers.

1.2. Inclusivity

Spoken Revived Cornish has two main variants, one based on Middle and one on Late Cornish. The SWF recognises Revived Middle Cornish (RMC), Revived Late Cornish (RLC), and Tudor Cornish (TC) as variants of equal standing. The orthography as a whole leans toward a Middle Cornish base, since in many cases the correct RLC or TC pronunciation can be deduced from an RMC form, but not vice versa. For example, the words *deun* ‘we come, let us go’ and *den* ‘man, person’ are distinguished by RMC speakers, who pronounce the former as [doe:n] and the latter as [de:n]. For RLC speakers, both words are pronounced [de:n]. Spelling both words as *den* based on the RLC pronunciation would be confusing or misleading for RMC speakers, and so the SWF uses two different graphs. In some cases, where RLC makes distinctions that RMC does not, the SWF follows RLC practice. For example, the word for ‘wood’ is *koos* {coos} [ku:z], pl. *kosow* {cosow} [ˈkɔzɔʊ] in RLC; most varieties of RMC write the same vowel for the singular and the plural.

Although the orthography as a whole leans toward Middle Cornish forms, Late Cornish forms are accounted for:

1. **orthographically**, through the use of variant graphs and umbrella graphs;
2. **morphologically** and **syntactically**, through the recognition of Late Cornish forms and syntactic structures, which are deemed to be just as correct as their Middle Cornish counterparts; and
3. **lexically**, through the inclusion of Late Cornish lexical items in official dictionaries.

In order to keep the written representations of the dialects of Revived Cornish close enough to one another to ensure mutual comprehension, a number of variant pronunciations are bridged by umbrella graphs (see § 2.1 below). These umbrella graphs are typically based on MC spellings, because with a few exceptions, phonemic distinctions were lost rather than created during the evolution of LC from MC.

2. Orthographic Variation within the SWF

In order to be inclusive of all varieties of Revived Cornish, the SWF allows a small number of variants in spelling. To reduce the burden on teachers and learners, the number of permitted variants will be kept to a minimum. Much of the variation between Middle and Late Cornish forms is bridged using umbrella graphs, as described in § 2.1 below. Other variations that reflect a difference in pronunciation between RMC and RLC are accommodated by alternating forms using variant graphs, as discussed in § 2.2. Finally, alternative traditional graphs are provided for writers who would like to use more traditional spellings to represent certain sounds. Unlike umbrella graphs and variant graphs, traditional graphs will not be used in official publications or learning materials aimed at beginners, but they do form part of the SWF and spellings using them will be considered correct when used in official examinations or school assignments. The use of traditional graphs in the SWF is outlined in § 2.3 below.

2. 1. Umbrella Graphs

There are four umbrella graphs in the SWF, which consistently represent one sound for RMC speakers and another for RLC speakers:

Umbrella Graphs in the SWF					
<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
<u>	[y(:)]	[i(:)]	rudh	[ry:ð]	[ri:ð]
<eu>	[oe(:)]	[e(:)]	keus	[koe:z]	[ke:z]
<oo>	[o(:)]	[u(:)]	koos { coos }	[ko:z]	[ku:z]
<gh>	[x]	[h], [h̥]	flogh	[flo:x]	[flo:h]

2. 2. Variant Graphs

In cases where differences in pronunciation between the varieties of Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph, the SWF recognises ‘dialectal’ spelling variants of equal status. These spellings reflect a linguistic difference between varieties of Cornish, and are referred to as variant graphs. Such variation in spelling makes the written representations of RMC and RLC visibly distinct from one another, while still keeping the variant forms similar enough to allow easy comprehension for all readers. Speakers of Tudor Cornish may choose the combination of RMC and RLC spellings that best reflects their pronunciation.

Variant Graphs in the SWF					
<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Examples</i>		<i>Meaning</i>
<a>	~	<oa> [v:]	bras	~	broas ‘big’
<ew>	~	<ow>	tewlel	~	towlel ‘throw’
<-i>	~	<-ei> [-əi]	chi	~	chei ‘house’
<mm>	~	<bm>	tamm	~	tabm ‘piece’
<nn>	~	<dn>	penn	~	pedn ‘head’
<s>	~	<j>	kerensa	~	kerenja ‘love’
<y>	~	<e>	bys	~	bes ‘world’

2. 3. Traditional Graphs

The SWF generally uses the letter <k> to represent the sound [k] and the digraph <hw> to represent the voiceless labial consonant [ɸ] (the sound sometimes found at the start of English ‘which, what’). It also uses <-i> to represent final unstressed [i] or [ɪ] in words like gwari ‘play’ and terri ‘break’. However, many people prefer to use spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers. The SWF therefore recognises alternative spellings for these sounds, which are referred to as traditional graphs. Individuals may use traditional graphs whenever they wish, and words spelled with traditional graphs will be marked correct if used in schoolwork or official examinations. Unlike variant graphs, however, traditional graphs do not have equal status with their counterparts <k>, <hw>, and <-i>, and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents produced by public bodies. Further guidance on this will be found in Appendix C. In this document, forms containing traditional graphs are given between curly brackets.

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Traditional Graphs in the SWF					
Graph		Example		Meaning	Notes
<hw>	{wh}	hwegh	{whegh}	'six'	
<-i>	{-y}	kelli	{kelly}	'lose'	Not used in stressed syllables
<k>	{c}	koos	{coos}	'wood'	Used before <a o u l r>
<ks>	{x}	boks	{box}	'box'	
<kw>	{qw}	kwit	{qwit}	'quite'	

Note that {-y} may only be substituted for an unstressed final <-i>, not a stressed final <-i> or <-ei> in words like *chi* ~ *chei* 'house' or *i* ~ *anjei* 'they'.

3. Vowels

3.0. Vowel Graphs in the SWF

Monophthongs in the SWF			
Graph	RMC	RLC	See
<a> (~ <oa>)	[a(:)]	[æ(:)] ~ [ɒ:]	§ 3.1
<e>	[ɛ(:)]	[e: ɛ]	§ 3.2
<eu>	[œ(:)]	[e: ɛ]	§ 3.3
<i> (~ <-ei>)	[i(:)]	[i(:) ɪ] ~ [-əɪ]	§ 3.4
<y>	[ɪ(:)]	[i: ɪ e: ɛ]	§ 3.5
<o>	[ɔ(:) ɾ]	[o: ɔ ɾ]	§ 3.6
<oo>	[o: u:]	[u:]	§ 3.7
<ou>	[u(:)]	[u: ɔ]	§ 3.8
<u>	[y(:)]	[i(:) ɪ]	§ 3.9
<oa> (RLC only)	[a:]	[ɒ:] (in a small group of words)	§ 3.1

General Rules for Monophthongs:

1. Vowel length is not marked on the vowel itself through the use of diacritical marks or distinctive graphs for long and short vowels. Instead, it is indicated by the nature and number of the following consonants (see § 3.17).
2. Stressed <y> in monosyllables often corresponds to stressed <e> in polysyllables, a relationship known as vocalic alternation (see § 3.18 for further discussion).
3. Similarly, long <oo> in monosyllables corresponds to <o> in unstressed syllables (see § 3.7).
4. Where RLC makes distinctions in vowel quality which RMC does not, RLC users may indicate these in writing. Two RLC-only digraphs are provided for this purpose: <oa>, which represents RLC [ɒ:], and <ei>, which represents RLC [əɪ] (§§ 3.1, 3.4).
5. Likewise, monosyllabic words like **pysk** ~ **pesk** 'fish' which RMC speakers pronounce with [i:] or [ɪ] and RLC speakers pronounce with [e:] will be spelled <y> in RMC, and <e> in RLC (see § 3.5).
6. Unstressed <u> and <eu> are unrounded and pronounced the same as unstressed <y> [ɪ] and <e> [ɛ], respectively.

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7. Etymological spellings are retained for unstressed vowels, since some RMC speakers distinguish these vowels from one another in speech. Speakers of RLC will therefore pronounce unstressed <a e o ou> as [ə].

Diphthongs in the SWF			
<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>	<i>See</i>
<aw>	[aʊ]	[æʊ]	§ 3.1
<ew>	[ɛʊ]	[ɛʊ]	§ 3.11
<iw>	[iʊ]	[iʊ]	§ 3.11
<yw>	[ɪʊ]	[ɛʊ]	§ 3.11
<ow>	[ɔʊ]	[ɔʊ] ~ [u:] (in hiatus)	§§ 3.11, 3.12
<uw>	[yʊ]	[iʊ]	§ 3.13
<ay>	[aɪ]	[əɪ]	§ 3.14
<ey>	[ɛɪ]	[əɪ]	§ 3.15
<oy>	[ɔɪ]	[əɪ]	§ 3.16
<-ei> (RLC only)	[i:]	[-əɪ] (word-finally and in hiatus)	§ 3.4

3. 1. <a> and RLC Variant Graph <oa>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
a ~ oa	[a(:)] —	[æ(:)], ([ə]), [ɒ:]

The vowel phoneme /a/ is spelled <a>. This phoneme is normally realised as [a] or [a:] by speakers of Revived Middle Cornish and as fronted [æ(:)] by speakers of Revived Late Cornish. In a few words, particularly when adjacent to a labial consonant, /a/ is pronounced as a back rounded vowel [ɒ(:)] by speakers of RLC. Variant spellings in <oa> are therefore provided for this small group of words.

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Words with RMC <a> ~ RLC <oa> in the SWF			
<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
bras	~	broas	'big'

In all other cases, where the RLC pronunciation of the vowel is [æ(:)], the vowel is spelled <a> by both RMC and RLC speakers.

Examples of RMC <a> ~ RLC <a> in the SWF			
<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
da	~	da	'good'
karr {carr}	~	karr {carr}	'car'
rann	~	radn	'part'
tan	~	tan	'fire'

Where <a> is unstressed, it may be pronounced as [ə]. This reduction of final unstressed vowels to schwa is a regular feature of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish.

3. 2. <e>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
e	[ɛ(:)]	[e:], [ɛ], ([ə])

The vowel phoneme /e/ is spelled <e>. It is realised as [ɛ(:)] by speakers of KK and as [ɛ e:] by speakers of all other varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of <e> in the SWF	
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
den	'person'
pell	'far'
medhow	'drunk'
mel	'honey'
pluven	'pen'

Where <e> is unstressed, it may be pronounced [ə]. This is a regular feature of Revived Late Cornish.

3. 3. <eu>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
eu	[oe:]	[e:]

The Middle Cornish vowel phoneme /oe/ is spelled <eu>. It is realised as [oe:] by speakers of RMC and as [e(:)] by speakers of all other varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of <e> in the SWF			
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
bleujen	'flower'	['bloe:dʒɛn]	['bledʒən]
keus	'cheese'	[koe:z]	[ke:z]
leun	'full'	[loe:n]	[le:n]
meur	'great'	[moe:r]	[me:ɹ] ([mi:ɹ])

3. 4. <i> and RLC Variant Graph <ei>; the Traditional Graph {-y}

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
i {-y} ~ ei	[i(:)] —	[i:], [i] [əi]

The vowel phoneme corresponding to MC /i/ is spelled <i>. It is realised as [i(:)] by speakers of KK and as [i:] by speakers of all other varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of RMC <i> ~ RLC <i> in the SWF	
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
glin	'knee'
mires	'look'
tir	'land'
gwari {gwary}	'play'

In stressed open syllables, RMC [i:] is often diphthongised to [əi] in Revived Late Cornish. This pronunciation is indicated by the variant graph <ei>.

Words with RMC Stressed <-i> ~ RLC Stressed <-ei> in the SWF

<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
chi	~	chei	'house'
ki	~	kei	'dog'
kria {cria}	~	kreia {creia}	'cry, call'
ni	~	nei	'we'

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In final position in unstressed syllables, the traditional graph {-y} may be substituted for <-i> in words like gweli {gwely} 'bed' and terri {terry} 'break (vb.)'. Final stressed <-i> representing [i:] may not be written as {-y}, since this alternates with the variant graph <-ei>.

3. 5. <y>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
y ~ e	[i(:)] —	[i:], [i] [e:], [ɛ]

The graph <y> is used for a vowel that is realised as [i(:) i(:)] by speakers of RMC and as [ɛ e:] by speakers of Revived Late Cornish. Many roots in <y> change this sound to <e> in their polysyllabic forms, due to vocalic alternation (see § 3.18 below). Speakers of RLC who pronounce [e:] in the monosyllabic forms of these words may write them with <e> instead of <y>.

Words with RMC Stressed <-i> ~ RLC Stressed <-ei> in the SWF			
<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
pryv	~	prev	'worm'
preves	~	preves	'worms'
bys	~	bes	'world'
besyow	~	besyow	'worlds'

3. 6. <o>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
o	[ɔ(:)], [ɜ]	[o:], [ɔ(:)], [ɜ] ([ə])

In the SWF, the vowel [ɔ(:)] is spelled <o>.

Examples of <o> in the SWF	
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
hordh	'ram'
to	'roof'

The graph <o> is also used to represent short [ɜ] (the short counterpart of <oo>) in words like the following:

Examples of <o> for [ɤ] in the SWF	
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
arlodh	'lord'
gallos	'be able to'
kavos {cavos}	'find'
tomm ~ tobm	'hot'

Where <o> is unstressed, it may be pronounced [ə]. This is a regular feature of Revived Late Cornish.

There are three words in which <o> in RMC is realised as <oa> in RLC

Examples of RMC <o> ~ RLC <oa> in the SWF		
<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
bos	boas	'be'
mos	moas	'go'
dos	doas	'come'

3.7. <oo>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
oo	[o:] ~ [u:]	[u:]

The SWF spells the sound represented by KK <oe> as <oo> where the vowel in question is long and RLC has [u:]. In all other cases, the graph <o> is used for KK <oe>. This means that some words which have long <oe> in KK will be spelled with <o> in the SWF, in cases where the evidence suggests they underwent a different phonological development from the loor, goon words, based on their spellings in LC. Words like the following will therefore be spelled with <o> (as in Unified Cornish): kon {con} 'dinner', tron 'nose', on 'lamb', gor 'knows', hwor {whor} 'sister', kor {cor} 'wax', noth 'naked'. In polysyllabic words based on roots in <oo>, this vowel will be spelled as <o>, reflecting the alternation between stressed [u:] in monosyllables and stressed [ɔ] in polysyllables seen in RLC. The short equivalent of <oo> may be spelt as <ò> in dictionaries and teaching materials for learners to show that it is pronounced differently from the short equivalent of <o>.

Examples of Long <oo> Alternating with <o> in the SWF			
<i>Long <oo> in Monosyllables</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i><o> in Polysyllables</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
koos {coos}	'wood'	kosow {cosow}	'woods'
loor	'moon'		
goon	'moor'	gonyow	'moors'
goodh	'wild'		
roos	'net'	rosow	'nets'

Where KK has intrinsically short <oe> (in unstressed position or when stressed before two or more consonants), the SWF defaults to the spelling <o> (see § 3.6 above).

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3. 8. <ou>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
ou	[u(:)]	[u:], [ʊ]

In loanwords and in the native word *gour* ‘man’, the SWF spells the phoneme /u/ as <ou>.

Examples of <ou> in the SWF		
<i>RMC and RLC</i>		<i>Meaning</i>
kcloud {cloud}		‘cloud’
flour		‘flower’
chambour		‘bedroom’

3. 9. <u>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
u	[y(:)], [i]	[i:], [i], [ɪʊ]

The MC phoneme /y/ is spelled <u> in the SWF. Speakers of RMC will pronounce this sound as [y(:)] (the vowel in French *lune* ‘moon’ or German *Tür* ‘door’) in stressed syllables, and as [i] in unstressed syllables.

In Revived Late Cornish, <u> is usually unrounded to [i:] or [i]. When stressed in word-final position or before <gh>, <u> is changed to a diphthong [ɪʊ], and is pronounced identically to <yw> (see § 3.11 below).

An optional circumflex <û> for [y:] ~ [u:] ~ [ɪʊ] and grave accent <ù> for short [ɪ] in words like <junya> may be used in dictionaries and teaching materials to indicate pronunciations other than /y/ for some or all speakers.

Examples of <u> in the SWF			
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC and TC</i>
du	‘black’	[dy:]	[dɪʊ]
kuv {cuv}	‘nice’	[ky:v]	[ki:v]
tus	‘people’	[ty:z]	[ti:z]
teylu	‘family’	[‘teɪɪ]	[‘teɪɪ]

3. 10. <aw>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
aw	[aʊ]	[æʊ], [ɐ(:)]

The digraph <aw> represents the diphthong RMC [aʊ] ~ RLC [æʊ].

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Examples of <aw> in the SWF			
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
braw	'beautiful'	[braʊ]	[bɹæʊ]
glaw	'rain'	[glɑʊ]	[glæʊ]
naw	'nine'	[naʊ]	[næʊ]

3. 11. <iw>, <yw>, and <ew>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
iw	[iʊ]	[iʊ]
yw	[iʊ]	[ɛʊ]
ew	[ɛʊ]	

In general, the digraph <iw> is used where both RMC and RLC have [iʊ], [iʊ], as in the following words:

Examples of <iw> for RMC and RLC [iʊ], [iʊ]			
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
Diw	'two (f.)'	[diʊ]	[diʊ]
Diwvron	'breasts'	[ˈdiʊvrən]	[ˈdiʊvrən]
Liw	'colour'	[liʊ]	[liʊ]
Liwya	'dye'	[ˈliʊja]	[ˈliʊjə]
Niwl	'fog'	[niʊl]	[niʊl]
Piw	'who'	[piʊ]	[piʊ]

The digraph <yw> is used where RMC [iʊ] corresponds to RLC [ɛʊ] and may be written with <ew> by speakers of RLC to indicate the pronunciation [ɛʊ].

Example of <yw> ~ <ew> for RMC [iʊ], RLC [iʊ ~ ɛʊ]					
<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
yw	~	ew	'is'	[iʊ]	[iʊ ~ ɛʊ]

Because of vocalic alternation (see § 3.18 below), <yw> can only occur in stressed monosyllables.

The digraph <ew> is used in words which are pronounced as [ɛʊ] by speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish.

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Examples of RMC <ew> ~ RLC <ew>		
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC, RLC</i>
Bew	'alive'	[bɛʊ]
Blew	'hair'	[blɛʊ]
Dew	'two (m.)'	[dɛʊ]
Ewn	'correct'	[ɛʊn]
Lew	'lion', 'rudder'	[lɛʊ]
Rew	'ice'	[rɛʊ]
Tew	'fat'	[tɛʊ]
Tewl	'dark'	[tɛʊl]

Speakers of RLC sometimes change <ew> to <ow> in stressed polysyllables, reflecting a difference in pronunciation.

Examples of RMC <ew> ~ RLC <ow> in Polysyllables					
<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
bewnans	~	bowmans	'life'	[ˈbɛʊnans]	[ˈbɔʊnənz]
klewes	~	klowes	'hear'	[ˈklɛʊɛs]	[ˈklɔʊɛz]
{clwes}	~	{clowes}			
tewlel	~	towlel	'throw'	[ˈtɛʊləl]	[ˈtɔʊləl]
dewdhek	~	dowdhek	'twelve'	[ˈdɛʊðɛk]	[ˈdɔʊðɛk]

3. 12. <ow>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
ow	[ɔʊ]	[ɔʊ], [u:]

The SWF uses the digraph <ow> to represent the diphthong [ɔʊ]. This diphthong is monophthongised to [u:] in hiatus in RLC, in words like *lowen* 'happy' and *Kernowek* 'Cornish'.

Examples of <ow> in the SWF			
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
dowr	'water'	[dɔʊr]	[dɔʊr]
low	'lice'	[lɔʊ]	[lɔʊ]
lowen	'happy'	[ˈlɔʊɛn]	[ˈlu:ɛn]

<ow> is also used as an RLC variant graph which alternates with RMC <ew> in stressed syllables in polysyllabic words, as discussed in § 3.11 above.

3. 13. <uw>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
uw	[yʊ]	[ɪʊ]

In addition, the SWF recognises the digraph <uw>. At present, there are two different suggestions as to what sound or sounds <uw> represents and what words in the SWF should be written with this digraph. There is unanimity as far as the words *Duw* 'God', *guw* 'spear', and *ruw* 'king' and their compounds are concerned, and so these words will be spelled with <uw> in the SWF. The spellings *buwgh* 'cow', *duwon* 'grief', *guw* 'woe', *suw* 'suet' have also been proposed, but as these have not been universally accepted, these words are currently spelled *bugh*, *duwon*, *gew*, and *soow* respectively.

Words with <uw> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
duw	'god'
duwes	'goddess'
guw	'spear'
pluw	'parish'
ruw	'king'

3. 14. <ay>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
ay	[aɪ]	[əɪ], [ɛ:]

The digraph <ay> represents the RMC diphthong [aɪ] which usually falls together with <ey> as [əɪ] in some varieties of Revived Cornish. Many words containing <ay> are recognisable as loans from French or Middle English.

Examples of <ay> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ayr	'air'
bay	'kiss'
chain	'chain'
gwaynya	'gain'
may(th)	'so that'
rahay	'sneeze'

3. 15. <ey>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
ey	[ɛɪ]	[əɪ]

The digraph <ey> represents the RMC diphthong [ɛɪ] which falls together with <ay> as [əɪ] in some varieties of Cornish. Whereas <ay> is very common in loanwords, many of the words with <ey> are derived from Celtic roots.

Examples of <ay> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
bleydh	'wolf'
eyl	'one of two'
gweyth	'occasion'
heyl	'estuary'
keyn	'back'
neyja	'fly'
neyth	'nest'
seyth	'seven'
teyr	'three (f.)'
treylya	'translate'
treys	'feet'
yeyn	'cold'

3. 16. <oy>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
oy	[ɔɪ] ([oɪ])	

In the SWF, the digraph <oy> is used to represent the diphthong [ɔɪ]. A few open monosyllables like moy 'more' and oy 'egg' may have kept a more conservative pronunciation [oɪ] through the later stages of the traditional language.

Examples of <ay> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
assoilya	'solve'
moy	'more'
koynt {coynt}	'strange'
noy	'nephew'
oy	'egg'
roy	'give!'

3. 17. Vowel Length

In the SWF, vowel length in monosyllables may be deduced from the nature of the following consonant or consonants. This system is very close to that of Welsh and to those of other Cornish orthographies which indicate vowel length.

Rules for Vowel Length in the SWF:

1. All unstressed vowels are short.
2. Vowels in stressed monosyllables are long:
 - a. in final position, as in **ro** 'gift', **da** 'good', **bre** 'hill';
 - b. before a single voiced consonant, as in **mab** 'son', **hir** 'long', **mil** 'thousand';
 - c. before the voiceless stop <k> in words like **klok** {**cl**ok} 'cloak', since the digraphs <kk> or <ck> are used after a short vowel;
 - d. before a fricative, as in **hav** 'summer', **nos** 'night', **kath** {**ca**th} 'cat';
 - e. before the cluster <st> as in **lost** 'tail', for speakers of Tudor or Late Cornish;
 - f. before the clusters <sp st sk> for KK speakers in words like **Pask** 'Easter'.
3. Vowels in stressed monosyllables are short:
 - a. before the voiceless stops <p t>, as in **hat** 'hatt', **top** 'topp';
 - b. before a consonant written double <mm, nn, ll, rr, ff, ss...>, as **karr** {**ca**rr} 'car', **pell** 'far, long'.
 - c. before a consonant cluster other than <st (sp sk)>, as in **park** 'field', **kans** {**ca**ns} 'hundred'.
4. Stressed vowels in polysyllabic words:
 - a. are usually short for speakers of RLC;
 - b. are long in open syllables before single consonants or the clusters <st (sp sk)> for speakers of Kernewek Kemmyn and conservative RMC;
 - c. are short before double consonants and other consonant clusters for all speakers.

There are a few exceptions to these rules, generally involving loanwords.

Examples of <ow> in the SWF			
Word	Meaning	RMC	RLC
grot	'groat'	[grɔ:t]	[grot], [grɔ:t]
hond	'hound'	[hɔ:nd]	[hɔ:nd]
kop { co p}	'cope'	[kɔ:p]	[kɔ:p]
krap { cr ap}	'grip'	[kra:p]	[kræ:p]
krop { cro p}	'penetrates'	[krɔ:p]	[krɔ:p]
kwit { q wit}	'free'	[kwi:t]	[kwi:t]
pat	'pate'	[pa:t]	[pæ:t]
plat	'plate'	[pla:t]	[plæ:t]
plit	'plight'	[pli:t]	[pli:t]
pot	'kicks'	[pɔ:t]	[pɔ:t]
shap	'shape'	[ʃa:p]	[ʃæ:p]

Examples of <ow> in the SWF			
Word	Meaning	RMC	RLC
skap {scap}	'escapes'	[ska:p]	[skæ:p], [skæp]
skit	'squirt'	[ski:t]	[ski:t]
smat	'hardy'	[sma:t]	[smæ:t], [smæt]
sop	'sups'	[sɔ:p]	[sɔ:p], [sɔp]
stat	'state'	[sta:t]	[stæ:t]
stop	'stoop'	[stɔ:p]	[stɔ:p]
stret	'street'	[ste:t]	[stre:t]
yet	'gate'	[je:t]	[je:t], [jɛt]

3. 18. Vocalic Alternation

The SWF acknowledges vocalic alternation, a sound change whereby stressed <y> in monosyllables and unstressed <y> in final syllables often becomes <e> when a suffix is added. This change affects words in <yw> as well as words in <y>. Its distribution is lexical, so vocalic alternation does not affect all words in <y> or <yw>, particularly when an <i> or <y> appears in the following syllable. Common examples include the following words:

Stressed <y> in Root Becomes <e>					
RMC		RLC	Meaning	Polysyllabic Form	Meaning
*blydh-	~	*bledh-	—	bledhen	'year'
bydh	~	bedh	'will be (3sg.)'	bedhav	'will be (1sg.)'
bydh	~	bedh	'be! (2sg.)'	bedhewgh	'be! (2pl.)'
bys	~	bes	'world'	besyow	'worlds'
dydh	~	dedh	'day'	dedhyow	'days'
gwydh	~	gwedh	'trees'	gwedhen	'tree'
pryv	~	prev	'worm'	preves	'worms'
prys	~	pres	'time'	presyow	'times'

This stressed <y> is pronounced [ɪ], [i:] by speakers of RMC. The monosyllables in question are pronounced with an [e:] by speakers of RLC, and may be spelled with the variant graph <e>, as in **bedh**, **bes**, **dedh** (see § 3.5 above).

	~	bew	'alive'	bewnans	'life'
				bewa	'live (v.)'
lew	~	lew	'rudder'	lewya	'steer (v.)'
skew	~	skew	'shelter (n.)'	skewya	'shelter (v.)'

This stressed <ew> is pronounced [ɛʊ] by speakers of RMC and RLC. Some polysyllabic words with <ew> in RMC will use the variant graph <ow> in RLC (thus, RMC **bewnans** ~ RLC **bownans**; see § 3.11 above).

Unstressed <y> in Final Syllable of Root Becomes <e>			
Root	Meaning	Pollysyllabic Form	Meaning
enys	'island'	enesow	'islands'
		enesek	'isolated'
benyn	'woman'	benenes	'women'
melyn	'yellow'	melender	'yellowness'
gorthyp	'answer'	gorthebi {gortheby}	'answer (v.)'
		gorthebow	'answers'

Stems in SWF <i> are not affected by vocalic alternation, according to the recommended pronunciation of KK, UC, and RLC. Thus, the SWF will write *tir*, pl. *tiryow* 'land'. Only UCR has vocalic alternation in some of these stems, such as *myr* (SWF *mir*) ~ *meras* (SWF *mires*), 'look'. Here, the SWF follows majority usage and does not show vocalic alternation in words like **mires**, **hwilas** {**whilas**}, and **skrifa** {**scrifa**}.

In order to determine which words show vocalic alternation, the SWF takes the forms in Nance's dictionary as a starting point, since in many cases Nance has generalised the most common spellings found in the traditional texts. Words which exhibit an alternation of <y> and <e> in UC are therefore candidates for VA in the SWF. Other evidence drawn from the traditional Cornish corpus should also be considered, and questionable cases may be reviewed by a future dictionary commission. The following general principles for spelling <i> y e> in the SWF may be observed:

1. KK half-long <y> often becomes SWF <e>.
2. The graph <y> is preferred in cases where UC, UCR, and KK all have <y>.
3. The graph <i> is preferred in cases where RLC and KK have <i> and UC has <y>.

4. Consonants

4.0. Consonant Graphs in the SWF

Although there is considerable variation between existing Cornish orthographies in the representation of vowel sounds, there is general consensus regarding the representation of most consonant sounds. The SWF builds on this consensus, following a number of principles:

General Principles for Consonants in the SWF:

1. The SWF accounts for all spoken varieties of Revived Cornish, supplying variant graphs in cases where the pronunciation differs greatly between RMC and RLC.
2. Double consonant graphs are used to indicate that the preceding vowel is short. This applies to stressed syllables only, because in Cornish all unstressed vowels are short (see § 3.17 above).
3. For speakers of some varieties of RMC (including Kernewek Kemmyn), double consonant graphs also indicate where to pronounce geminate or long consonants.
4. Speakers of Revived Late Cornish do not pronounce geminate consonants. Instead, the historical geminate sonorants <ll mm nn rr> are pronounced as short fortis [l^h b^m dⁿ r^h] in their varieties.

5. In Revived Late Cornish, historical final <-th -dh -f -v> are sometimes elided. Speakers of RLC may use an apostrophe in these cases to show their pronunciation of words like for' (RMC **fordh**) 'road'.

Consonant								
Sonorants (§ 4.1)			Stops (§§ 4.2, 4.3)			Fricatives (§§ 4.4 - 4.7)		
Graph	RMC	RLC	Graph	RMC	RLC	Graph	RMC	RLC, TC
l	[l]	[l]	B	[b]	[b]	c	[s]	[s]
ll	[l:]	[l ^h]	Ck	[k: k]	[k]	dh	[ð]	[ð]
m	[m]	[m]	D	[d]	[d]	f	[f]	[f v]
mm ~ bm	[m:]	[^b m]	G	[g]	[g]	ff	[f:]	[f]
n	[n]	[n]	k {c q}	[k]	[k]	gh	[x: x]	[h]
nn ~ dn	[n:]	[n ^h ^d n]	Kk	[k:]	[k]	h	[h]	[h]
r	[r]	[r]	P	[p]	[p]	hw {wh}	[ʍ]	[ʍ]
rr	[r:]	[r ^h]	Pp	[p:]	[p]	s	[s z]	[z s]
			T	[t]	[t]	ss	[s: s]	[s]
			Tt	[t:]	[t]	sh	[ʃ]	[ʃ]
						th	[θ]	[θ]
						tth	[θ:]	[θ]
Affricates (§ 4.8)			Semivowels (§ 4.9)					
Graph	RMC	RLC	Graph	RMC	RLC	z	[z]	[z]
ch	[tʃ]	[tʃ]	W	[w]	[w]			
j	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	Y	[j]	[j]			
ks {x}	[ks gz]	[ks gz]						

4.1 Sonorants: <m n l r> and <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr>

In the SWF, the sonorant consonants <m n l r> may be written single or double.

Rules for Single and Double Sonorants:

1. Double <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> are written where the consonant is pronounced long in RMC or as a fortis in RLC.
2. Double consonants may only be written in stressed syllables, including initial elements in compound words like *pednseythen* 'week-end', which receive secondary stress. However, medial <ll> and <rr> are retained in roots and therefore do not revert to a single letter in unstressed non-final syllables where that changes the root.
3. <ll> is also used in <dell> and in the suffix <ell> implying 'tool' or 'device'
4. Single <m n l r> are written where the consonant is pronounced as a short or lenis [m n l r].
5. Cornish speakers who pre-occlude may write <bm dn> instead of <mm nn>.
6. For speakers of RLC, <ll rr> represent the devoiced fortis [l^h r^h].
7. For speakers of Tudor Cornish, <nn> represents the devoiced fortis [n^h].
8. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are long before single sonorants and short before double sonorants and pre-occluded <bm dn>.

The SWF indicates geminate or long liquids <nn ll rr> in writing where they are actually pronounced long in conservative RMC, or as fortis [n^h l^h r^h] in RLC and Tudor Cornish. This principle is extended to the phoneme /m/ which is also spelled <mm> where it is historically

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intrinsically long (as it is in most native words). Sonorants are doubled in those places where pre-occlusion of [m:] and [n:] occurs in Late Cornish – namely, in stressed syllables. Therefore <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> will be written in monosyllabic words and their compounds as well as in the stressed syllables of polysyllabic words. Vowels that precede double sonorants or pre-occluded <bm dn> in such words are short.

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>TC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
mm ~ bm	[m:]	[m]	[bm]
nn ~ dn	[n:]	[n ^h], [n]	[dn]
ll	[l:]	[l ^h], [l]	[l ^h]
rr	[r:]	[r ^h], [ɾ]	[r ^h]

Examples of RMC <mm, nn, ll, rr> ~ RLC <bm, dn, ll, rr> in the SWF

<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
tamm	~	tabm	'piece'
bronn	~	brodn	'breast'
pell	~	pell	'far, long'
berr	~	berr	'short'
lemmyn	~	lebmyrn	'now'
ranna	~	radna	'divide'
challa	~	challa	'jaw'
gorra	~	gorra	'put'

In compound words, an initial element like penn- ~ pedn- or kamm- {camm-} ~ kabm- {cabm-} retains its double (or pre-occluded) consonant because of secondary stress. Therefore, the SWF writes <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> rather than <m n l r> in compounds like pellgowser 'telephone'.

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Double Sonorants <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> in Compound Words		
RMC	RLC	Meaning
kammneves {cammneves}	~ kammdhavas {cabmdhavas}	'rainbow'
penn glin	~ pedn glin	'kneecap'
pellgowser	–	'telephone'
korrdonner {corrdonner}	–	'microwave'

There is a small class of words which have RMC forms in <mm nn> but lack pre-occluded RLC variants in <bm dn>. Some of these words, like *jynn* 'engine', seem to have been borrowed from English after pre-occlusion occurred, while others like *gonn* 'knows', were replaced by alternative forms in LC and are therefore only attested in their non-pre-occluded MC forms. These words will also be spelled with <mm nn> in the SWF, however, since the double consonant is necessary to indicate that the preceding vowel is short.

RLC Words spelled with <mm, nn> in the SWF			
RLC and RMC	Meaning	RMC	RLC and TC
gramm	'gramme'	[gram:]	[græm]
gronn	'bundle'	[grɔn:]	[grɔn]
gwremm	'hem'	[gwɾɛm:]	[gwɾɛm]
jynn	'engine'	[dʒɪn:]	[dʒɪn]
kann {cann}	'very white'	[kan:]	[kæɪn]
namm	'fault'	[nam:]	[næm]

There has been some argument about the RLC forms of the words for 'kid goat' and 'fish offal', which are sometimes said to have contained short vowels. According to Richard Gendall's dictionary, however, the monosyllabic forms of both have a long vowel, and this analysis has been followed here. The two words in question will therefore be spelled **min** (coll.), **minen** (sg.), 'kid goat' and **mon** 'fish offal' in the SWF, subject to further research by a dictionary commission. Note that Lhuyd renders the first of the two as *mynnan*, *mynan*, which indicates that the stressed vowel was short in the polysyllabic form but tells us nothing about the length of the vowel in the root.

In unstressed and pre-tonic syllables, and also in consonant clusters, the SWF writes single <m n l r>. This phonetic approach to spelling has several benefits: it ties the orthography more closely to the spoken language, and it indicates at first glance where pre-occlusion can and cannot occur. Note, however, the exception for retaining double <ll> and <rr> in non-final syllables where to revert to a single consonant would change the root.

Graph	RMC	RLC
m	[m]	[m]
n	[n]	[n]

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<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
l	[l]	[l]
r	[r]	[ɹ], [r]

Examples of Single Sonorants <m n l r> in the SWF

<i>RLC and RMC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
mos	'go'
blamya	'blame'
fram	'frame'
nos	'night'
hanow	'name'
den	'man, person'
lowen	'happy'
glas	'blue, green'
aval	'apple'
roos	'net'
bara	'bread'
hir	'long'

The SWF also spells singulatives like **pluven** with a single <-n> because phonetically the suffix has a single [n]. Double consonants are not necessary to indicate vowel length in the unstressed final syllables of words like **pluven** 'feather' or **gwedren** 'drinking glass', since all vowels in unstressed position are short by default. However, plural forms of singulatives like **pluvennow** ~ **pluednow** 'feathers' are written with <-nn> or <-dn> to emphasise that the [n:] is a historically long or fortis consonant and that it is subject to pre-occlusion in Late Cornish. This double consonant is also necessary to indicate that the stressed vowel which precedes it is short, since speakers of some varieties of RMC distinguish short and long stressed vowels in polysyllabic words.

Examples of Single Sonorants <m n l r> in the SWF

<i>RMC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>		
pluven	~	pluven	'feather'	<i>not</i>	*pluedn
gwedren	~	gwedren	'glass'	<i>not</i>	*gwedredn
mynsa	~	menja	'would like'	<i>not</i>	*mednja
tomder	~	tomder	'warmth'	<i>not</i>	*tobmder

4. 2. Voiceless Stops: <p t k ck> and <-pp-, -tt-, -kk-, -ck->

Rules for Voiceless Stops:

1. The single voiceless stops [p, t] are usually written <p, t>. In word-final position, the voiceless stops [p, t] are normally written <-p, -t>, and are commonly preceded by a short vowel. In word-final position of monosyllabic loanwords, the voiceless stops [p, t] are written <-pp, -tt> after a short vowel.

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2. The single voiceless stop [k] is written as <k> in final position in words like **klok** {**clock**} ‘cloak’, where the [k] follows a long vowel in the root.
3. The single voiceless stop [k] is written as <ck> in final position in loanwords like **klock** {**clock**} ‘clock’, where the [k] follows a short vowel in the root.
4. The double voiceless stops <pp tt kk> are only written in medial position between two vowels or between a vowel and the consonant <y> [j] – places where the stops may be pronounced as geminate or long [p: t: k:].
5. The spelling <ck> is used instead of <kk> in loanwords, so **klockys** {**clockys**} ‘clocks’ is spelled with <ck> while **tekka** ‘prettier’ is spelled with <kk>.
6. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are normally short before a voiceless stop. A number of easily recognisable loanwords do not follow this rule, and are listed in the table in § 3.17 above.

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
p		[p]
t		[t]
k {c q}		[k]
ck		[k]

The SWF writes <k> after a long stressed vowel in words like **klok** {**clock**} ‘cloak’ and after a short unstressed vowel in words like **marghek** ‘rider’. After a short stressed vowel, the digraph <ck> is used, as in the word **klock** {**clock**} ‘clock’.

Examples of Voiceless Stops <p t k ck> in the SWF	
<i>RLC and RMC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
pel	‘ball’
modrep	‘aunt’
tas	‘father’
atal	‘mine-waste, refuse’
hat	‘hat’
Kernow	‘Cornwall’
kernevek	‘Cornish’
klock {clock}	‘clock’

The representation of the phoneme /k/ is one of the cases where the SWF recognises alternative spellings with traditional graphs. Almost all traditional Cornish texts represent the [k] sound using a combination of the graphs {c k q x}, distributed according to the nature of the following vowel, consonant, or semivowel. Writers who wish to use the traditional graphs for [k] should follow the following rules:

1. {c} is used for <k> before <a o u l r>, as in {**cath**} **kath** ‘cat’ and {**res**} **kres** ‘peace’;
2. {q} replaces <k> before <w>, as in {**sqwith**} **skwith** ‘tired’;
3. {x} is used for the sequence <ks> in words like {**box**} **boks** ‘box’; and
4. <k> is retained in all other cases.

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<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
pp	[p:]	[p]
tt	[t:]	[t]
kk, ck	[k:]	[k]

Examples of Medial <-pp-, -tt-, -kk-, -ck-> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
klappya {clappya}	'talk'
hattys	'hats'
lakka	'worst'
klockys {clockys}	'clocks'

In medial position, <-pp- -tt- -kk-> are retained in words like **klappya {clappya}** 'chatter' and plurals like **hattys**, **hattow** 'hats', where the stop may be pronounced as a geminate. As with geminate or fortis sonorants, the SWF writes geminate stops only where they are pronounced (by those speakers who distinguish long and short consonants).

Monosyllabic loanwords which have final [-k] after a short vowel will be spelled with <-ck> rather than <-k> in the SWF. This enables the SWF to distinguish words like **klock {clock}** [klɔk] 'clock' which contain short vowels from words like **klok {clock}** [klɔ:k] ~ [klo:k] 'cloak' which contain long vowels. Plural forms (**klockys {clockys}** 'clocks'; **klokys {clockys}** 'cloaks') and compounds containing these words will preserve the spelling <-ck> or <-k> found in the root.

Medial [k:] from historical /k + h/ in comparatives, superlatives, and subjunctives will be spelled <kk>, as in **tekka** 'prettier, prettiest' and **dokko** 'may carry'. The graph <ck> will be used medially in loanwords like **klockys {clockys}** 'clocks'. Both medial <-kk-> and <-ck-> may be pronounced as long or geminate [k:] by speakers who recognise distinctions in consonant length.

4. 3. Voiced Stops: <b, d, g>**Rules for Voiced Stops**

1. The voiced sounds [b d g] are always spelled <b d g>.
2. Voiced stops do not occur word-finally in unstressed syllables. In this position, <p t k> [p t k] are used in both spelling and pronunciation.
3. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are pronounced long before voiced stops.

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<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
b		[b]
d		[d]
g		[g]

Examples of <b, d, g> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
best	'beast'
abrans	'eyebrow'
neb	'any', 'some'
down	'deep'
broder	'brother'
bord	'board, table-top'
ger	'word'
maga	'nurture'
rag	'for'

Morpho-phonemic /-b -d -g/ are pronounced and spelled [p t k] <-p -t -k> word-finally in unstressed syllables, as they are in UC, KK, and UCR. In all other positions, including at the end of monosyllabic words, the SWF writes <b d g> for /b d g/. Because of this rule, words like **modrep** 'aunt' and **Kernewek** ~ **Kernowek** 'Cornish' whose roots end in an unstressed /-b -d -g/ change this final <-p -t -k> to <-b- -d- -g-> when a suffix is added that places the morpheme-final /b d g/ in medial position. Thus the plural of **modrep** is **modrebedh** 'aunts', and the word for 'Cornish speaker' is **Kerneweger** ~ **Kernoweger**.

4. 4. Labial and Dental Fricatives**Rules for Labial and Dental Fricatives:**

1. Word-finally, the graphs <f v> and <th dh> are distributed etymologically in unstressed syllables. Speakers of Tudor Cornish pronounce all these consonants as voiceless in this position.
2. Speakers of RLC may mark the loss of final [f v θ ð] in a number of lexical items in their variant by replacing the dropped consonant with an apostrophe, as in RLC **for'** 'way, road' ~ RMC **fordh**.
3. In spoken RLC, <f> is often voiced to [v], especially morpheme-initially before vowels, but it is still spelled <f>.
4. Lenition of initial <f> to [v] is not indicated in writing.
5. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are long before all single fricatives.

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<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
f	[f]	[f], [v]
v		[v]
hw {wh}		[ʍ]

The table of labial fricatives contains one digraph, <hw>, for which there is a traditional graph {wh}.

Examples of <f v hw> {wh} in the SWF		
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	
fenester	'window'	
afia	'affirm'	
hanaf ~ hanath	'cup'	
viaj	'travel'	
eva	'drink (v.)'	
kuv {cuv}	'nice'	
hweg {wheg}	'sweet'	
alhwedh {alwhedh}	'key'	

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
th		[θ]
dh		[ð]

Examples of <th dh> in the SWF		
<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	
(ow) thas	'(my) father'	
yethow	'languages'	
kath {cath}	'cat'	
dhywar	'down from'	
edhen	'bird'	
soodh	'work'	

4.5. Sibilants and Shibilants

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
c		[s]
s		[s], [z]
z		[z]
sh		[ʃ]

Rules for Sibilants and Shibilants:

1. Each variety of spoken Revived Cornish has its own rules for the distribution of [s] and [z] in initial, medial, and final positions, and the SWF defaults to the spelling <s> (the usual MC and RMC spelling) to represent both voiced [z] and voiceless [s] in most words.
2. The graph <s> represents [s] in the clusters <sp st sk> and <ps ts ks>.
3. In medial position, <s> is often pronounced as voiced [z] between vowels or between a sonorant and a vowel, as in **kasek** {casek} ‘mare’ and **kynsa** ~ **kensa** ‘first’.
4. Root-final <s> is often pronounced as [z], except in a small number of loanwords like **plas** ‘place’ and **fas** ‘face’.
5. In initial position, speakers of RLC will usually pronounce <s> as [z], except in some loanwords and in clusters like <sp st sk sl sn>.
6. Many RMC users pronounce initial <s> as [s].
7. Since the rules for lenition of initial <s> are different for speakers of each variety of Revived Cornish, and since the graph <s> can also represent voiced [z], the SWF does not show the lenition of <s> in writing. This is consistent with the practice in Unified Cornish.
8. The graphs <c> and <ss> always represent voiceless [s] or [s:] for speakers of both RMC and RLC.
9. The graph <z> is always pronounced as [z] for speakers of both RMC and RLC.
10. The digraph <sh> represents the sound [ʃ] and is found primarily in loanwords like **shap** ‘shape’. In compounds like **les-hanow** ‘nickname’ where a final <s> comes together with an initial <h>, a hyphen may be inserted to show that the two letters represent separate sounds.

Examples of <s z sh> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
sten	‘tin’
kasek {casek}	‘mare’
bras	‘big’
zebra	‘zebra’
Zanzibar	‘Zanzibar’
shap	‘shape’
bushel	‘bushel’
bush	‘crowd’

In the SWF, loanwords from Norman French like **cita** will be spelled with initial and medial <c>. This reflects the idea that the sound represented by <c> was likely still an affricate at the time it was borrowed, and that it is usually pronounced as voiceless [s] in both RMC and RLC. In root-final position the SWF will write <s> in words like **dons** and **donsya** ‘dance’, since writing root-final <c> would likely lead learners to mispronounce it as [k], and since most existing orthographies have been writing these words with <s> for decades. In addition, <s> is used in morpheme-final position in order to avoid the unnecessary alteration of <c> and <s> in paradigms. However, <c> is kept in the digraph <cy> where the latter stands for [sj] ~ [ʃ] ~ [ʃj], according to variety or reconstruction; e.g. words ending in -acyon. Thus, the SWF writes:

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RLC Words spelled with <mm, nn> in the SWF			
<i>RLC and RMC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
cita	'city'	[ˈsi:ta]	[ˈsitə]
cider	'cider'	[ˈsi:der]	[ˈsəɪdər]
donsya	'dance'	[ˈdɔnsja]	[ˈdɔnzjə]
plas	'place'	[pla:s]	[plæ:s]
gras	'grace, thanks'	[gra:s]	[græ:s]
spas	'space'	[spa:s]	[spæ:s]

Recent loans like zebra, Zanzibar, Zimbabwe will be spelled with initial, medial, and final <z> in the SWF.

4. 6. <gh> and <h>

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
gh	[x] in medial and final position	[h]
h	[h]	

RMC [x] in words like **sygh** 'dry' and **margh** 'horse' is written <gh> in the SWF, and is pronounced [h] by speakers of RLC. The digraph <gh> is also used medially.

Examples of medial and final <gh> and <h>						
<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
hal	~ hal	'moor'			[ha:l]	[hæ:l]
nahen	~ nahen	'not otherwise'			[naˈhɛ:n]	[nəˈhɛ:n]
sygh	~ segh	'dry'	seghe	'thirst'	[ˈse:xɛs]	[ˈzɛhɔz]
flogh	~ flogh	'child'	fleghe	'children'	[ˈfle:xɛs]	[ˈflɛhɛs]
margh	~ margh	'horse'	marghek	'rider'	[ˈmarxɛk]	[ˈmæɪhək]

Note that the word 'small' is **byghan** in RMC, but may be spelled **bian** by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish who pronounce the word without a medial [h].

4. 7. Geminate fricatives

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
ff	[f:]	[f]
ss	[s:]	[s]
tth	[θ:]	[θ]
-gh-	[x:]	[h]
ggh	[x:]	

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ssh	[ʃ:]	
cch	[tʃ:]	

Examples of <ff ss tth> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	Meaning
kreffa {creffa}	'strongest'
nessa	'next', 'second'
kottha {cottha}	'oldest'

Generally, double fricative spellings indicate that the preceding vowel is short and that the consonant itself is pronounced as a geminate in some varieties of RMC.

The trigraph <tth> is used for geminate [θ:] in comparatives, superlatives and subjunctives like **kottha {cottha}** 'oldest'. This graph is attested in the traditional Cornish corpus, and is useful for speakers of some varieties of RMC, since it clearly marks the preceding vowel as short. The trigraphs <ggh>, <cch> and <ssh> are used to denote similar geminates.

4. 8. Affricates

Graph	RMC	RLC
ch		[tʃ]
j		[dʒ]
ks {x}		[ks gz]

The SWF recognizes two affricate phonemes [tʃ] and [dʒ], which are spelled <ch> and <j> respectively. Except for a handful of words like **chi** ~ **chei** 'house', **chy** ~ **che** 'thou, thee', and **jy** ~ **je** 'thou, thee', most words featuring <ch> and <j> are loans from English or French.

Examples of <ch j > in the SWF

RMC and RLC	Meaning
chymbla	'chimney'
tochya	'touch'
ertach	'heritage'
jorna	'day'
bleujen	'flower'
imach	'image'

The cluster /ks/ (pronounced [ks] or [gz]) also occurs in some loanwords like **boks {box}** 'box' and **tekst {text}** 'text', and may be written <ks> in the SWF. Some writers may choose to use the traditional graph {x} instead of <ks> in these words.

4. 9. Semivowels

<i>Graph</i>	<i>RMC</i>	<i>RLC</i>
w		[w]
y		[j]

Examples of <w> and <y> in the SWF

<i>RMC and RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
war	'on'
awos ~ 'wos	'because'
liw	'colour'
yar	'hen'
baya	'kiss'
oy	'egg'

The spelling of semivowels is straightforward and consistent with the existing practice of most current Cornish orthographies. It should be noted, however, that word-initial <ye-> tends to become <e-> in Revived Late and Tudor Cornish. Speakers who drop the initial <y-> in these words may indicate this by using an apostrophe.

Examples of <ye 'e> in the SWF

<i>RLC</i>		<i>RLC</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Yedhewon	~	'Edhewon	'Jews'
yeghes	~	'ehes	'health'
yeth	~	'eth	'language'

5. Special Cases

In addition to the general principles outlined above, which apply to whole classes of words, there are a few specific rules involving individual lexical items. In most cases, these changes in spelling reflect attestations in traditional Cornish texts which show a different phonological development from that predicted by regular sound change rules or by the etymology of the words in question. Other problematic cases may be referred to a future dictionary committee for further research.

5. 1. <dhyworth> 'from', <dhywar> 'down from'

The preposition 'from' is generally spelled **dhyworth** in the SWF, which reflects:

1. The generalisation of the soft mutation of initial **d-** in this word, which happened early on in Middle Cornish, possibly via the form **a-dhyworth** with subsequent loss of the element **a-**. (Compare the preposition **dhe** 'to' and the possessive pronoun **dha** 'thy', both of which also have an etymological **d-** which has become permanently lenited in MC.)
2. The reduction of the vowel in the first syllable of this word to [ɪ] or [ə], which contributed to the further contraction of this preposition to **dhort** in the Late Cornish period.

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3. However, <dyworth>, which is in general use, is accepted as an alternative to <dhyworth>, as is <dort> as an alternative to <dhort>

The preposition 'down from' which underwent a comparable development, will likewise be spelled **dhywar**.

5. 2. <seythen> 'week'

The Cornish word for 'week' likely originally had [ɪ] in the final syllable, but there is strong evidence from the historical corpus that the word was re-interpreted a singulative in **-en**, resulting in written LC (and, in consequence, RLC) forms like *zeythan*. The SWF takes this into account and writes **seythen**.

Appendix A

Paradigms

The following pages list sample paradigms for pronouns, verbs, and prepositions in the SWF. Because the SWF must account for the full range of linguistic and morphological variation found in Revived Cornish, there are many cases where two or more variant forms are provided for a given item. The RMC and RLC forms have been kept as similar to one another as possible, to ensure the highest degree of mutual intelligibility between the variants.

While the forms presented below are grouped broadly under the headings 'RMC' and 'RLC', it is expected that users of the SWF will write using the forms that most closely reflect their own speech habits. Some RMC users may therefore occasionally write forms labelled here as 'RLC', and vice versa. Speakers of Tudor Cornish will find some familiar forms in both columns. All of the forms listed here conform to the basic principles of the SWF, and are therefore acceptable for use in official publications. However, it is recommended that teaching materials aimed at beginners restrict themselves to a single set of forms, rather than trying to present the full range of variation at one time.

Finally, it is important to note that the paradigms given below are simply intended as a reference list for writers using the SWF. Although a few remarks on grammar and usage have been provided for clarification, no attempt has been made to prescribe rules for correct usage. Everything which is considered grammatical in an existing variety of Revived Cornish is still acceptable when these varieties of Cornish are written using the SWF.

Personal pronouns

Note that the first and second person singular independent and suffixed pronouns allow for variation between forms in <y> (**my, vy, ty, chy, sy, jy**) and <e> (**me, ve, te, che, se, je**).

Independent (Subject)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>my - me</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>my - me</i>	<i>Nei</i>
2	<i>ty - te</i>	<i>hwi</i>	<i>ty - te, chy - che</i>	<i>hwei</i>
3	<i>ev (m.)</i> <i>hi (f.)</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ev, e' (m.)</i> <i>hei (f.)</i>	<i>anjei, jei</i>

Suffixed

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>vy - ve, ma, a</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>vy - ve, ma, a</i>	<i>nei</i>
2	<i>sy - se, jy - je, ta</i>	<i>hwi</i>	<i>chy - che, ta</i>	<i>hwei</i>
3	<i>ev, va, a (m.)</i> <i>hi (f.)</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ev, e', va, a, ava (m.)</i> <i>hei (f.)</i>	<i>anjei</i>

Suffixed (Emphatic)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>evy</i>	<i>nyni</i>	<i>evy</i>	–
2	<i>tejy</i>	<i>hwyhwi</i>	<i>tejy</i>	–
3	<i>eev (m.)</i> <i>hyhi (f.)</i>	<i>ynsi</i>	–	–

Infixed (Object)

These forms are not commonly used in RLC.

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>'m</i>	<i>'gan, 'n</i>	<i>'m</i>	<i>'gan, 'n</i>
2	<i>'th^M</i>	<i>'gas, 's</i>	<i>'th^M</i>	<i>'gas, 's</i>
3	<i>'n (m.)</i> <i>'s (f.)</i>	<i>'s</i>	<i>'n (m.)</i> <i>'s (f.)</i>	<i>'s</i>

(^M causes mixed mutation/5th state)

Prefixed (possessive)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>ow^A, 'm</i>	<i>agan</i>	<i>o^{'A}, ma^A, 'm^A</i>	<i>'gan</i>
2	<i>dha^L, 'th^M</i>	<i>agas</i>	<i>dha^L, 'th^M</i>	<i>'gas</i>
3	<i>y^L (m.)</i> <i>hy^A (f.)</i>	<i>aga^A</i>	<i>y^L (m.)</i> <i>hy^A (f.)</i>	<i>'ga^A</i>

(^L lenites/causes 2nd state mutation; ^A aspirates/causes 3rd state mutation)

RLC often substitutes the suffixed for the prefixed pronoun in constructions with a possessive meaning, as in **sira vy** ‘my father’, which appears in William Bodinar’s letter. Some speakers of RMC, Tudor Cornish, and RLC use both a preceding and a following pronoun, as **ow sira vy**.

Verbs

Verbal morphology differs considerably between RMC, Tudor Cornish, and RLC. The tables below attempt to represent the full range of forms found in Revived Cornish. For reasons of space, the pronouns **my**, **vy**, **ty**, and **chy** have been generalised here in the first and second person singular forms. However, the variant spellings with <e> (**me**, **ve**, **te**, and **che**) may also be used.

In the present/future indicative, the first person singular verb ending **-av** or its equivalent is listed in the RMC column, while the later form **-am** (when attested) is listed in the RLC column. The second person singular endings **-ydh** (early MC) and **-ys** (Tudor Cornish) are usually listed under RMC. Note that in RLC, there are usually two forms given for the third person plural of any tense: a synthetic form ending in **-ons** or **-ens**, and an analytic form consisting of the third person singular form of the verb and the pronoun **anjei**.

bos ~ boas (bones) ‘be’

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective)

-vedhys (used in compounds only)

Present Participle

ow pos ~ o pos

Many of the RLC forms below are shown preceded by the particle **th ~ y(th)**, but they can be used with other particles, like the negative particle **na(g) ~ ny(ns)**.

Present Indicative

Short form

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>ov, o'ma</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>thom, t o'ma, tho'vy</i>	<i>thon, tho'nei</i>
2 <i>os, os ta, o'ta</i>	<i>owgh</i>	<i>thos, tho'chy</i>	<i>tho', tho'hwei</i>
3 <i>yw (ev), yw a (m.)</i> <i>yw (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>yns</i>	<i>thew e' (m.)</i> <i>thew hei (f.)</i>	<i>thens, then'jei</i>
0 <i>or</i>		—	

Long form

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>esov</i>	<i>eson</i>	<i>therom, thero'ma, thero'vy</i>	<i>thero'nei</i>
2 <i>esos, es'ta</i> <i>yma (ev), yma va (m.)</i>	<i>esowgh</i>	<i>thero'chy, thes'ta</i>	<i>thero'hwei</i>
3 <i>yma (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>ymons</i>	<i>ma e', ma va (m.) ma hei (f.)</i>	<i>mons, mon'jei, ma jei</i>
<i>eus</i>	<i>esons</i>	<i>eus</i>	
<i>usi</i>	<i>usons</i>	<i>uji</i>	<i>ujons, ujon'jei</i>
<i>eder</i>		—	

The forms **esons** and **usons** ~ **ujons** are equivalent, and may be used in the same contexts.

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Future (Habitual Present)

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>bedhav</i>	<i>bedhyn</i>	<i>bedham, bedha'ma, bedha'vy</i>	<i>bedhyn (nei)</i>
2 <i>bedhydh, bedhys</i>	<i>bedhowgh</i>	<i>bedhys, bedhys ta</i>	<i>bedho'(hwei)</i>
3 <i>bydh</i>	<i>bedhons</i>	<i>bedh e', bedha (m.)</i> <i>bedh hei (f.)</i>	<i>bedhons, bedh anjei</i>
0 <i>bedher</i>		—	

Imperfect Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>en</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>thom, tho'ma, th o'vy,</i>	<i>tho'nei</i>
2 <i>es</i>	<i>ewgh</i>	<i>thos, tho'chy</i>	<i>tho'hwei</i>
3 <i>o (ev), o va (m.)</i> <i>o (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>ens</i>	<i>tho e', tho va (m.)</i> <i>tho hei (f.)</i>	<i>tho'njei, th o anjei</i>
0 <i>os</i>		—	

The RLC short forms for the imperfect tense are often identical to those used in the present tense. In the long forms, many imperfect and present tense forms in RLC may be distinguished in writing (because the SWF retains the etymological **-o-** in the present tense and **-e-** in the imperfect), but they are often pronounced identically.

Long form

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>esen</i>	<i>esen</i>	<i>there'vy</i>	<i>there'nei</i>
2 <i>eses</i>	<i>esewgh</i>	<i>thes'ta</i>	<i>there'hwei</i>
3 <i>esa (ev), esa va (m.)</i> <i>esa (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>esens</i>	<i>thera e', thera va (m.)</i> <i>thera hei (f.)</i>	<i>theren'jei, thera anjei</i>
0 <i>eses</i>		—	

Habitual Past

In *Tavas a Ragadazow*, Gendall recommends using only the third person singular form of this verb in nominal sentences like **nei a vedha**.

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>bedhen</i>	<i>bedhen</i>	—	—
2 <i>bedhes</i>	<i>bedhewgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>bedha</i>	<i>bedhens</i>	<i>bedha</i>	—
0 <i>bedhes</i>		—	

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Preterite

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>beu</i> , <i>beu'ma</i>	<i>beun</i>	<i>beu'vy</i>	<i>beu'nei</i>
2 <i>beus</i> , <i>beus ta</i>	<i>nbeuwgh</i>	<i>beus ta</i> , <i>beu'chy</i>	<i>bew'</i> , <i>be'hwei</i>
3 <i>beu (ev)</i> , <i>beu va (m.)</i> <i>beu (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>bons</i>	<i>beu va (m.)</i> <i>beu hei (f.)</i>	<i>bon'jei</i> , <i>beu anjei</i>
0 <i>beus</i>		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>bien</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>biem</i> , <i>bie'vy</i>	<i>bien</i> , <i>bie'nei</i>
2 <i>bies</i>	<i>biewgh</i>	<i>bies</i> , <i>bie'chy</i>	<i>biew'</i> , <i>bie'hwei</i>
3 <i>bia</i>	<i>biens</i>	<i>bia (e' / hei)</i>	<i>biens</i> , <i>bia anjei</i>
0 <i>bies</i>		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>biv</i>	<i>byn</i>	<i>bon</i> , <i>bo'ma</i> , <i>bo'vy</i>	<i>bon</i> , <i>bo'nei</i>
2 <i>bi</i>	<i>bowgh</i>	<i>bos</i> , <i>bo'ta</i> , <i>bo'chy</i>	<i>bo'</i> , <i>bo'hwei</i>
3 <i>bo (ev)</i> , <i>bo va (m.)</i> <i>bo (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>bons</i>	<i>bo e'</i> , <i>bo va (m.)</i> <i>bo hei (f.)</i>	<i>bons</i> , <i>bo anjei</i>
0 <i>ber</i>		—	

Imperfect Subjunctive

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>ben</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>be'ma</i> , <i>be'vy</i>	<i>ben</i> , <i>be'nei</i>
2 <i>bes</i>	<i>bewgh</i>	<i>bes</i> , <i>bes ta</i>	<i>bew'</i> , <i>bew'hwei</i>
3 <i>be (ev)</i> , <i>be va (m.)</i> <i>be (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>bens</i>	<i>be va (m.)</i> <i>be hei (f.)</i>	<i>bens</i> , <i>be anjei</i>
0 <i>bes</i>		—	

Imperative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 —	<i>bedhyn</i>	—	<i>bedhyn</i>
2 <i>bydh</i>	<i>bedhewgh</i>	<i>bedh</i>	<i>bedhew'</i>
3 <i>bedhes</i> , <i>bedhens</i>	<i>bedhens</i>	<i>bedhes</i> , <i>bedhens</i>	<i>bedhens</i>

y'm beus ~ kawas 'get, have'

This verb is primarily used in RMC. Most speakers of RLC and many speakers of RMC prefer to express 'to have' using the verb **bos** with the preposition **dhe**, as in **Ma chei dhe vy ~ Yma chi dhymm** 'I have a house'. In the later traditional language, forms like **y'm beus** and **y'n jeves** were gradually replaced by a construction Richard Gendall calls the 'idiomatic possessive,' in which the verb **bos** itself acquired a possessive sense, as in **My a veu own bras** 'I was very anxious'.

In the paradigms below, only the 'regular' conjugated forms of **y'm beus ~ kawas** (those in which the verb form corresponds to the third person singular form of **bos** and the infixed pronoun agrees in person and number with the subject) are given. Speakers of Tudor Cornish or RLC who use forms like **ni a'n jeves** or **y'gan bedhyn** are free to write such forms in the SWF, however.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective)

—

Present Participle*ow kawas ~ o' kawas*

The RMC forms below are shown preceded by the affirmative particle **y**, but they may also be used with other particles, like the negative particles **ny(ns)** or **na(g)** and the relative particle **a**.

Present Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>y'm beus</i>	<i>y'gan beus, y'n beus</i>	—	—
2 <i>y'th eus</i>	<i>y'gas beus, y's beus</i>	—	—
3 <i>y'n jeves (m.)</i> <i>y's teves (f.)</i>	<i>y's teves</i>	<i>y'n jeves</i> —	—

Gendall suggests that the third person singular form *a'n jeves* may be used for any person and number in RLC: **my ~ me a'n jeves, nei an jeves, hwei a'n jeves**, etc.

Imperfect Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>y'm bo</i>	<i>y'gan bo, y'n bo</i>	—	—
2 <i>y'th o</i>	<i>y'gas bo, y's bo</i>	—	—
3 <i>y'n jevo (m.)</i> <i>y's tevo (f.)</i>	<i>y's tevo</i>	—	—

Preterite

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>y'm beu</i>	<i>y'gan beu, y'n beu</i>	—	—
2 <i>y' feu</i>	<i>y'gas beu, y's beu</i>	—	—
3 <i>y'n jeva (m.)</i> <i>y's teva (f.)</i>	<i>y's teva</i>	—	—

An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

Future (Habitual Present)

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Pl.
	Sg.		Sg.	
1	<i>y'm bydh</i>	<i>y'gan bydh, y'n bydh</i>	—	—
2	<i>y'fydh</i>	<i>y'gas bydh, y's bydh</i>	—	—
3	<i>y'n jevydh (m.)</i> <i>y's tevydh (f.)</i>	<i>y's tevydh</i>	—	—

Habitual Past

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Pl.
	Sg.		Sg.	
1	<i>y'm bedha</i>	<i>y'gan bedha, y'n bedha</i>	—	—
2	<i>y'fedha</i>	<i>y'gas bedha, y's bedha</i>	—	—
3	<i>y'n jevedha (m.)</i> <i>y's tevedha (f.)</i>	<i>y's tevedha</i>	—	—

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Pl.
	Sg.		Sg.	
1	<i>y'm bedha</i>	<i>y'gan bedha, y'n bedha</i>	—	—
2	<i>y'fedha</i>	<i>y'gas bedha, y's bedha</i>	—	—
3	<i>y'n jevedha (m.)</i> <i>y's tevedha (f.)</i>	<i>y's tevedha</i>	—	—

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Pl.
	Sg.		Sg.	
1	<i>y'm bo</i>	<i>y'gan bo, y'n bo</i>	<i>y'm bo</i>	<i>y'n bo</i>
2	<i>y'fo</i>	<i>y'gas bo, y's bo</i>	<i>y'fo</i>	<i>y's bo</i>
3	<i>y'n jeffo (m.)</i> <i>y's teffo (f.)</i>	<i>y's teffo</i>	<i>y'n jeffo (m.)</i> <i>y's teffo (f.)</i>	<i>y's teffo</i>

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Pl.
	Sg.		Sg.	
1	<i>y'm be</i>	<i>y'gan be, y'n be</i>	—	—
2	<i>y'fe</i>	<i>y'gas be, y's be</i>	—	—
3	<i>y'n jeffa (m.)</i> <i>y's teffa (f.)</i>	<i>y's teffa</i>	—	—

Imperative

(not used)

An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

gul ~ gwul (gwruthyl, gruthyl, guthyl) 'do, make'

There is little difference in this verb between RMC and RLC except for the enclitic pronouns and the fact that in the conditional and subjunctive tenses, RLC and RMC use different stems.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective)

gwrys ~ gwres

Present Participle

ow kul ~ o kul

Present/Future Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>gwra^v, gwra'ma</i>	<i>gwren</i>	<i>gwra'ma, wgra'vy</i>	<i>gwren, gwre'nei</i>
2 <i>gwredh, gwres, gwre'ta</i>	<i>gwrewgh</i>	<i>gwras, gwres, gwre'ta</i>	<i>gwrew, gwrew'hwei</i>
3 <i>gwra (ev), gwra va (m.)</i> <i>gwra (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>gwrons</i>	<i>gwra e', wgra va (m.)</i> <i>gwra hei (f.)</i>	<i>grons, gron'jei</i>
0 <i>gwrer</i>		—	

Imperfect Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>gwra^v, gwra'ma</i>	<i>gwren</i>	<i>gwra'ma, gwra'vy</i>	<i>gwren, gwre'nei</i>
2 <i>gwredh, gwres, gwre'ta</i>	<i>gwrewgh</i>	<i>gwras, gwres, gwre'ta</i>	<i>gwrew', gwrew'hwei</i>
3 <i>gwra (ev), gwra va (m.)</i> <i>gwra (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>gwrons</i>	<i>gwra e', gwra va (m.)</i> <i>gwra hei (f.)</i>	<i>gwrons, gwron'jei</i>
0 <i>gwrer</i>		—	

Preterite

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>gwrug</i>	<i>gwrussyn</i>	<i>gwrug, gwrugam, gwru^g'va</i>	<i>gwrussyn (nei)</i>
2 <i>gwrussys</i>	<i>gwrussowgh</i>	<i>gwruss'ta, gwruss'te^g</i>	<i>gwru^go'(hwei)</i>
3 <i>gwru^g (ev, a) (m.)</i> <i>gwru^g (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>gwrussons</i>	<i>gwru^g e', gwru^g a, gwru^g a^{va} (m.)</i> <i>gwru^g hei (f.)</i>	<i>gwru^gons, gwru^g anjei</i>
0 <i>gwru^g</i>		<i>gwras</i>	—

The RLC form **gwras** is used in nominal sentences like **nei a wras** 'we did, we made' when the meaning is 'did' or 'made'. When the verb **gwul ~ gul** is used as an auxiliary, the form **gwru^g** is used instead (as in **nei a wru^g gweles** 'we saw'). RLC speakers may also use the forms **gwruss'ta** and **gwrussyn** for the 2sg. and 1pl., respectively, although the first of these can also represent the 2sg. conditional form of **gwul ~ gul** (see below).

Conditional (Pluperfect)

In the conditional, the stem for RMC is **gwruss-**, while the stem for RLC is **gwress-**.

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>gwrussen</i>	<i>gwrussen</i>	<i>gwressen, gwresse'vy</i>	<i>gwressen (nei)</i>
2 <i>gwrusses</i>	<i>gwrussewgh</i>	<i>gwress'ta, gwress'tejy</i>	<i>gwressew', gwresse'hwei</i>
3 <i>gwrussa (ev, va) (m.)</i> <i>gwrussa (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>gwrussens</i>	<i>gwressa e', gwressa va</i> <i>gwressa hei</i>	<i>gwressens, gwressa anjei</i>
0 <i>gwrussys</i>		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

In the present/future subjunctive, the stem for RMC is **gwrell-** or **gwryll-**, while the stem for RLC has been altered to **gwreff-** by analogy with **deff-** from **dos** (see below). The RLC forms listed for the present/future and imperfect subjunctive below are based on those in Richard Gendall's latest RLC dictionary. Each shows features found in RMC in both the present/future and imperfect subjunctive paradigms.

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>gwryllio</i>	<i>gwryllyn</i>	<i>gwreffam, gwreffa'vy</i>	<i>gwreffen (nei)</i>
2 <i>gwrylli</i>	<i>gwryllowgh</i>	<i>gwreffes, gwreffes ta</i>	<i>gwreffo'(hwei)</i>
3 <i>gwrello</i>	<i>gwrellons</i>	<i>gwreffa e' / hei</i>	<i>gwreffons, gwreffa anjei</i>
0 <i>gwreller</i>		—	

Imperfect Subjunctive

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>gwrellen</i>	<i>gwrellen</i>	<i>gwrellen, gwrellen vy</i>	<i>gwrellen (nei)</i>
2 <i>gwrelles</i>	<i>gwrellewgh</i>	<i>gwrylli, gwrylli chi</i>	<i>gwrellew', gwrelle'hwei</i>
3 <i>gwrella</i>	<i>gwrellens</i>	<i>gwrella e' / hei</i>	<i>gwrellens, gwrella anjei</i>
0 <i>gwrellys</i>		—	

Imperative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 —	<i>gwren</i>	—	<i>gwren</i>
2 <i>gwra</i>	<i>gwrewgh</i>	<i>gwra, gwras</i>	<i>grew'</i>
3 <i>gwres, gwrens</i>	<i>gwrens</i>	<i>gwrens (e' / hei)</i>	<i>gwrens (anjei)</i>

An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

mynnes ~ mednes 'want, will'

The RMC forms of this common auxiliary verb are based on the stem **mynn-**, while the RLC forms are based on the stem **medn-** or **men-**.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) *mynnys* (if used)
Present Participle *ow mynnes ~ o menna* (if used)

Present/Future Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>mynnav</i>	<i>mynnyn</i>	<i>mydna'vy</i>	<i>mednen, medn'nei</i>
<i>mannav</i>		<i>madnam, madna'vy</i>	
<i>mynnydh, mynnys,</i>			
2 <i>myn'ta</i>	<i>mynnowgh</i>	<i>mednes, men'ta, men'teju</i>	<i>medno'hwei</i>
3 <i>mynn</i>	<i>mynnons</i>	<i>medn e' / hei</i>	<i>mednons, medn anjei</i>
0 <i>mymir</i>		—	

Imperfect Indicative

To express the imperfect indicative of **mednes** ~ **mynnes**, RLC uses the conditional forms (see below).

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>mynnen</i>	<i>mynnen</i>	—	—
2 <i>mynnes</i>	<i>mynnewgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>mynna</i>	<i>mynnens</i>	—	—
0 <i>mynnes</i>		—	

Preterite

In the preterite and the conditional of **mynnes** ~ **mednes**, the double consonant **-nn-** reduces to a single **-n-** when followed by an **s** or **j**.

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>mynnis</i>	<i>mynsyn</i>	—	—
2 <i>mynsys</i>	<i>mynsowgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>mynnas</i>	<i>mynsons</i>	—	—
0 <i>mynnas</i>		—	—

Conditional (Pluperfect)

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>mynsen</i>	<i>mynsen</i>	<i>menjem, menje'ma</i>	<i>menjen, menje'nei</i>
2 <i>mynses</i>	<i>mynsewgh</i>	<i>menjes, menjes ta</i>	<i>menjew', menje'hwei</i>
3 <i>mynsa</i>	<i>mynsens</i>	<i>menja va / hei</i>	<i>menjens, menja anjei</i>
0 <i>mynses</i>		—	

An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>mynniŋ</i>	<i>mynnyn</i>	—	—
2	<i>mynni</i>	<i>mynnowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>mynno</i>	<i>mynmons</i>	—	—
0	<i>mynner</i>		—	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>mynnen</i>	<i>mynnen</i>	—	—
2	<i>mynnes</i>	<i>mynnewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>mynna</i>	<i>mynmens</i>	—	—
0	<i>mynnys</i>		—	

Imperative

(not used)

gallos 'can, be able'**Past Participle (Verbal Adjective)** (not used)**Present Participle** (not used)**Present/Future Indicative**

Many of the forms of the present/future indicative are built on the stem **gyll-** for RMC and **gell-** or **gall-** for RLC.

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gallav</i>	<i>gyllyn</i>	<i>gellam, gella'ma, gella'oy</i>	<i>gellyn, gellyn nei</i>
2	<i>gyllidh, gyllys, gyll'ta</i>	<i>gyllowgh</i>	<i>gellys ta</i>	<i>gello', gello'hwei</i>
3	<i>gyll</i>	<i>gyllons</i>	<i>gell e' / hei</i>	<i>gallons, gell anjei</i>
0	<i>gyllir</i>		—	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gyllyn</i>	<i>gyllyn</i>	—	—
2	<i>gyllys</i>	<i>gyllowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>gylli</i>	<i>gyllens</i>	—	—
0	<i>gylles</i>		—	

An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

Preterite

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gyllis</i>	<i>gyllsyn</i>	–	–
2	<i>gyllsys</i>	<i>gyllsowgh</i>	–	–
3	<i>gallas</i>	<i>gyllsons</i>	–	–
0	<i>gallas</i>	–	–	–

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gallsen</i>	<i>gallsen</i>	<i>galljem, gallje'ma, gallje'vy</i>	<i>galljen, gallje'nei</i>
2	<i>gallses</i>	<i>gallsewgh</i>	<i>galljes ta, gallje'chy</i>	<i>galljew', gallje'hwei</i>
3	<i>gallsa (ev) (m.)</i>	<i>gallsens</i>	<i>gallja e', gallja va (m.)</i>	<i>galljens, gallja anjei</i>
3	<i>gallsa (hi) (f.)</i>	–	<i>gallja hei (f.)</i>	–
0	<i>gallses ~ gallser</i>	–	–	–

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gylliv</i>	<i>gyllyn</i>	–	–
2	<i>gylli</i>	<i>gyllowgh</i>	–	–
3	<i>gallo</i>	<i>gallons</i>	–	–
0	<i>galler</i>	–	–	–

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gallen</i>	<i>gallen</i>	–	–
2	<i>galles</i>	<i>gallewgh</i>	–	–
3	<i>galla</i>	<i>gallens</i>	–	–
0	<i>galles</i>	–	–	–

In RLC, the present and the past subjunctive of **gallos** have coalesced, drawing mainly from the paradigm of the RMC past subjunctive, and are used exclusively after **may** (which is reduced to **m'**) in final clauses. The forms of this verb which are actually heard in speech are therefore: **m'alle'vy** (from **may** + **galle'vy**), **m'alle'chy** (from **may** + **galle'chy**), etc.

Imperative

(not used)

An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

dos ~ doas (dones, devos, devones) 'come'

This verb is a common auxiliary verb in RLC and Tudor Cornish, but only some tenses of **dos** are so employed. In the other tenses, only the third person singular form is given in the RLC paradigms, since in RLC these tenses are normally only used in nominal sentences like **hwei a dho** 'you used to come'.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) *devedhys*
Present Participle *ow tos ~ o tos*

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>deuv, dov, deu'ma</i>	<i>deun</i>	<i>deu'ma, de'ma</i>	<i>deun nei, de'nei</i>
2 <i>deudh, deu'ta</i>	<i>dewgh</i>	<i>deu'chy, de'chy</i>	<i>dew' hwei, de'hwei</i>
3 <i>deu (ev), deu va (m.)</i> <i>deu (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>dons</i>	<i>deu ev de'va (m.)</i> <i>deu hei (f.)</i>	<i>dons, dens, deu anjei</i>
0 <i>deer</i>	—	—	—

Imperfect Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>den</i>	<i>den</i>	—	—
2 <i>des</i>	<i>dewgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>do</i>	<i>dens</i>	<i>do</i>	—
0 <i>des</i>	—	—	—

Preterite

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>deuth</i>	<i>deuthen</i>	—	—
2 <i>deuthys</i>	<i>deuthewgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>deuth</i>	<i>deuthons</i>	<i>deuth</i>	—
0 <i>deuthes</i>	—	—	—

Perfect

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>deuøev</i>	<i>deuøen</i>	—	—
2 <i>deuøes</i>	<i>deuøewgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>deuøa</i>	<i>deuøons</i>	—	—
0 <i>deuøes</i>	—	—	—

Conditional (Pluperfect)

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>dothyen</i>	<i>dothyen</i>	—	—

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2	<i>dothyas</i>	<i>dothyewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>dothya</i>	<i>dothyens</i>	—	—
0	<i>dothyas</i>	—	—	—

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>dyffio</i>	<i>dyffyn</i>	—	—
2	<i>dyffi</i>	<i>dyffowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>deffo</i>	<i>deffons</i>	—	—
0	<i>deffer</i>	—	—	—

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>deffen</i>	<i>deffen</i>	<i>deffen (vy), deffe'vy</i>	<i>deffen, deffen nei</i>
2	<i>deffes</i>	<i>deffewgh</i>	<i>deffes, deffe'chy</i>	<i>deffew', deffe'hwei</i>
3	<i>deffa</i>	<i>deffens</i>	<i>deffa e' / hei</i>	<i>deffens, deffa anjei</i>
0	<i>deffes</i>	—	—	—

Imperative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	—	<i>deun</i>	—	<i>deun</i>
2	<i>deus</i>	<i>dewgh</i>	<i>deus</i>	<i>dew'</i>
3	<i>des, dens</i>	<i>dens</i>	<i>dens</i>	<i>dens</i>

mos (mones) 'go'

RLC speakers generally use **mos** only in nominal sentences or periphrastic constructions using the auxiliary verb **gwul** ~ **gul** like **hi a wra mos** 'she will go'. For this reason, only the third person singular forms are listed for most tenses in RLC, since these may be used in affirmative sentences like **my** ~ **me a geth** 'I went'.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) *gylllys*

Present Participle *ow mos* ~ *o' mos*

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>av, a'ma</i>	<i>en</i>	—	—
2	<i>edh, es, es ta, e'ta</i>	<i>ewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>a</i>	<i>ons</i>	<i>a</i>	—
0	<i>er</i>	—	—	—

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Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>en</i>	<i>en</i>	—	—
2	<i>es</i>	<i>ewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>e</i>	<i>ens</i>	<i>e</i>	—
0	<i>es ~ os</i>		—	

Preterite

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>yth ~ eth</i>	<i>ethen</i>	—	—
2	<i>ethys</i>	<i>ethewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>eth</i>	<i>ethons</i>	<i>eth, geth</i>	—
0	<i>es</i>		—	

Perfect

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>galson</i>	<i>galson</i>	—	—
2	<i>galsos</i>	<i>galsowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>gallas</i>	<i>galsons</i>	<i>gallas</i>	—
0	—		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gylsen</i>	<i>gylsen</i>	—	—
2	<i>gylses</i>	<i>gylsewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>galsa</i>	<i>gylsens</i>	—	—
0	—		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>ylliv</i>	<i>yllyn</i>	—	—
2	<i>ylli</i>	<i>yllowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>ello</i>	<i>ellons</i>	—	—
0	<i>eller</i>		—	

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Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>ellen</i>	<i>ellen</i>	—	—
2	<i>elles</i>	<i>ellewgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>ella</i>	<i>ellens</i>	—	—
0	<i>elles</i>		—	

Imperative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	—	<i>deun</i>	—	<i>deun</i>
2	<i>ke, a</i>	<i>kewgh, ewgh</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kew', ew'</i>
3	<i>es, ens</i>	<i>ens</i>	—	—

godhvos 'know, know how to'

Some speakers pronounce the sequence **-dhv-** as [f:]. In a few cases, RLC forms use a stem spelled **goff-** to reflect this pronunciation.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) *godhvédhys*

Present Participle *ow kódhvos ~ o kódhvos*

Present Indicative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>gonn, gorav, gora'ma</i>	<i>godhon</i>	<i>goram, gora'ma, gora'vy</i>	<i>goryn, goryn nei</i>
2	<i>godhes, godhes ta</i>	<i>godhowgh</i>	<i>gos ta</i>	<i>goro', goro'hwei</i>
3	<i>gor (ev) (m.)</i> <i>gor (hi) (f.)</i>	<i>godhons</i>	<i>gor e', gor ava (m.)</i> <i>gor hei (f.)</i>	<i>gorans, gor anjei</i>
0	<i>godhor</i>		—	

Future (Habitual Present)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>godhvédhav</i>	<i>godhvédhyn</i>	—	—
2	<i>godhvédhydh</i>	<i>godhvédhowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>godhvóydh</i>	<i>godhvédhons</i>	—	—
0	<i>godhvédher</i>		—	

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Imperfect Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>godhyen</i>	<i>godhyen</i>	<i>goyen (vy)</i>	<i>goyen (nei)</i>
2 <i>godhyes</i>	<i>godhyewgh</i>	<i>goyes (chy)</i>	<i>goyew'(hwei)</i>
3 <i>godhya</i>	<i>godhyens</i>	<i>goya (e' / hei)</i>	<i>goyens, goya anjei</i>
0 <i>godhyes</i>		—	

Preterite

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>godhvœv</i>	<i>godhvœn</i>	—	—
2 <i>godhvœs</i>	<i>godhvœwgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>godhvoa</i>	<i>godhvœons</i>	<i>godhas</i>	—
0 <i>godhvœs</i>		—	

The preterite of *godhvœs* is not attested in MC, but is sometimes used in RMC.

Conditional (Pluperfect)

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>godhvien</i>	<i>godhvien</i>	—	—
2 <i>godhvies</i>	<i>godhviewgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>godhvia</i>	<i>godhviens</i>	<i>goffia</i>	—
0 <i>godhvies</i>		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>godhviv</i>	<i>godhvyn</i>	—	—
2 <i>godhvi</i>	<i>godhvowgh</i>	—	—
3 <i>godhvo</i>	<i>godhvœons</i>	—	—
0 <i>godher</i>		—	

Imperfect Subjunctive

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 <i>godhvœn</i>	<i>godhvœn</i>	<i>goffen (vy)</i>	<i>goffen (nei)</i>
2 <i>godhvœs</i>	<i>godhvœwgh</i>	<i>goffes (chy)</i>	<i>goffew'(hwei)</i>
3 <i>godhvoa</i>	<i>godhvœns</i>	<i>goffa e' / hei</i>	<i>goffens, goffa anjei</i>
0 <i>godhvœs</i>		—	

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Imperative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	—	godhvedhyn	—
2	godhvydh, gor	godhvedhewgh	go'ya
3	godhvedhes, -ens	godhvedhens	—
0			

Regular Verbs

Many Cornish speakers avoid conjugating most verbs in everyday conversation, preferring to use constructions involving auxiliaries like **bos** ~ **boas**, **gul**, and **mynnes**. In the paradigms below, RLC forms are only given in the third person singular in some tenses (present/future indicative, imperfect indicative, and preterite), since most RLC speakers only use these verbs in nominal sentences like **chy** ~ **che a worras** 'you put'. A few other forms are given, notably the first person singular present/future indicative ending **-am**, which is found in Tudor Cornish and RLC, and the impersonal forms of the present/future indicative and subjunctive, which are described in the appendix to Gendall's 2007 dictionary.

gorra 'put, place'

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective)*gorrys***Present Participle***ow korra* ~ *o korra***Present/Future Indicative**

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gorrav	gorryn	gorram, gorra'ma
2	gorrydh, gorrys	gorrowgh	—
3	gorr	gorrons	gorr
0	gorrir	gorrir	—

Imperfect Indicative

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gorren	gorren	—
2	gorres	gorrewgh	—
3	gorra	gorrens	gorra
0	gorrys	—	—

Preterite

RMC		RLC	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gorris	gorrsyn	—
2	gorrsys	gorrsowgh	—
3	gorras	gorrsons	gorras
0	gorras	—	—

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Conditional (Pluperfect)

RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Pl.
1	gorrsen	gorrsen	—
2	gorrses	gorrsewgh	—
3	gorrsa	gorrsens	—
0	gorrsys	—	—

RLC uses **mynja** (the conditional of **mednes**) as an auxiliary to express the conditional of most verbs, as in **My a vynja gorra** 'I would put'.

Present/Future Subjunctive

In RLC, **gallos**, **bos**, and **gul** are used as auxiliaries to express the subjunctive of other verbs, as in **Hei a sav war an ke m'alla hei gweles**, 'She stands on the hedge so that she can see.' When discussing past actions, the conditional is used, as in **Hei a savas war an ke m'alja hei gweles**, 'She stood on the hedge so that she could see'.

RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Pl.
1	gorriv	gorryn	—
2	gorri	gorrowgh	—
3	gorro	gorrons	—
0	gorrer	gorrer	—

Imperfect Subjunctive

RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Pl.
1	gorren	gorren	—
2	gorres	gorrewgh	—
3	gorra	gorrens	—
0	gorrys	—	—

Imperative

RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Pl.
1	—	gorryn	—
2	gorr	gorrewgh	gorrew'
3	gorres, gorrens	gorrens	—

gweles 'see'

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective)
Present Participle

gwelys
ow *kweles* ~ *o* *kweles*

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Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gwelav	gwelyn	gwelam, gwela'ma	—
2	gwelydh	gwelowgh	—	—
3	gwel	gwelons	gwel	—
0	gwelir		gwelir	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gwelyn	gwelyn	—	—
2	gwelys	gwelewgh	—	—
3	gweli	gwelens	gweli	—
0	gwelys		—	

Preterite

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gwelis	gwelsyn	—	—
2	gwelsys	gwelsowgh	—	—
3	gwelas	gwelsons	gwelas	—
0	gwelas		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gwelsen	gwelsen	—	—
2	gwelses	gwelsewgh	—	—
3	gwelsa	gwelsens	—	—
0	gwelsys		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

Verbs whose roots end in a single consonant generally double this consonant (and devoice it, if possible) before adding the subjunctive endings.

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gweliv	gwelyn	—	—
2	gwelli	gwellowgh	—	—
3	gwello	gwellons	—	—
0	gweller		gweller	

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Imperfect Subjunctive

RMC			RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	gwellen	gwellen	—	—
2	gwelles	gwellewgh	—	—
3	gwella	gwelens	—	—
0	gwellys	—	—	—

Imperative

RMC			RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	—	gwelyn	—	—
2	gwel	gwelewgh	gwel	gwelew'
3	gweles, gwelens	gwelens	—	—

Prepositions

Only some of the following prepositions are regularly conjugated in RLC. Full RLC paradigms have been given for these prepositions. In other cases, the first person singular endings **-am** and **-a'ma** and the third person plural ending **-ans** are listed in the RLC column, as these are often used by speakers of Tudor Cornish.

a 'of, from'

RMC			RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	ahanav	ahanan	ahanam, ahana'vy	ahanan (nei)
2	ahanas	ahanowgh	ahanas (ta)	ahano'(hwei)
3	anodho (m.) anedhi (f.)	anedha	anodho (m.) anedhi (f.)	anedhans, anedh'anjei

a-dhann ~ *a-dhadn* 'from under'
See *yn-dann*.

a-dherag 'before, in front of'
See *rag*.

a-dhywar 'down from'
See *war*.

a-dhyworth ~ *a-dhort* 'from'
See *dhyworth*.

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ages 'than'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	<i>pl.</i>	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>
1	<i>agesov</i>	<i>ageson</i>	—	—
2	<i>agesos</i>	<i>agesowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>agesso</i> (m.) <i>agessi</i> (f.)	<i>agessa</i>	—	<i>agessans</i>

a-rag 'before, in front of'
See *rag*.*a-ugh* 'above'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>
1	<i>a-ughov</i>	<i>a-ughon</i>	—	—
2	<i>a-ughos</i>	<i>a-ughowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>a-ughto</i> , <i>a-uho</i> (m.) <i>a-ughti</i> , <i>a-uhi</i> (f.)	<i>a-ughta</i> , <i>a-uha</i>	—	<i>a-ughtans</i> , <i>a-uhans</i>

avel 'like, as'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>
1	<i>avelov</i>	<i>avelon</i>	—	—
2	<i>avelos</i>	<i>avelowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>avello</i> (m.) <i>avelli</i> (f.)	<i>avella</i>	—	<i>avellans</i>

dhe 'to'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>	Sg.	<i>Pl.</i>
1	<i>dhymm</i> , <i>dhymmo</i>	<i>dhyn</i>	<i>dhebm(o)</i> , <i>dhe vy</i>	<i>dhen</i> , <i>dhe nei</i>
2	<i>dhis</i> , <i>dhiso</i>	<i>dhywgh</i>	<i>dhes(o)</i> , <i>dhe jy</i>	<i>dhew'</i> , <i>dhe hwei</i>
3	<i>dhodho</i> (m.) <i>dhedhi</i> (f.)	<i>dhedha</i>	<i>dhodho</i> , <i>dhe ev</i> (m.) <i>dhedhi</i> (f.)	<i>dhodhans</i> , <i>dhe anjei</i>

dherag 'in front of'
See *rag*.*dhywar* 'down from'
See *war*.

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dhyworth ~ dhort 'from'

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>dhyworthiv</i>		<i>dhyworthyn</i>	<i>dhortam</i>	<i>dhortyn (nei)</i>
2	<i>dhyworthis</i>		<i>dhyworthowgh</i>	<i>dhortis (chy)</i>	<i>dhorto', dhort hwei</i>
3	<i>dhyworto (m.)</i> <i>dhyworti (f.)</i>		<i>dhyworta</i>	<i>dhorto (m.)</i> <i>dhorti (f.)</i>	<i>dhortans, dhort anjei</i>

dre ~ der 'through, by'

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>dredhov</i>	<i>dredhon</i>	<i>dredham</i>		—
2	<i>dredhos</i>	<i>dredhowgh</i>	—		—
3	<i>dredho (m.)</i> <i>dredhi (f.)</i>	<i>dredha</i>	—		<i>dredhans</i>

dres 'over, beyond'

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>dresov</i>	<i>dreson</i>	—		—
2	<i>dresos</i>	<i>dresowgh</i>	—		—
3	<i>dresto (m.)</i> <i>dresti (f.)</i>	<i>dresta</i>	—		<i>drestans</i>

es 'than'See *ages*.*gans ~ gen* 'with, by'

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>genev</i>	<i>genen</i>	<i>genam, gena'ma, gena vy</i>		<i>genen (nei), gena nei</i>
2	<i>genes</i>	<i>genowgh</i>	<i>genes, gena chy</i>		<i>geno'(hwei), gena hwei</i>
3	<i>ganso (m.)</i> <i>gensi (f.)</i>	<i>gansa</i>	<i>ganjo, gens ev (m.)</i> <i>gensi, gens hei (f.)</i>		<i>ganjans, gens anjei</i>

heb 'without'

	RMC	Pl.	RLC	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>hebov</i>	<i>hebon</i>	<i>hebam</i>		—
2	<i>hebos</i>	<i>hebowgh</i>	—		—
3	<i>hebdho (m.)</i> <i>hebdhi (f.)</i>	<i>hebdha</i>	—		<i>hebdhans</i>

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orth ~ *ort* 'at'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>orthiv</i>	<i>orthyn</i>	<i>ortam, orta'vy, ort vy</i>	<i>ortyn (nei), ort nei</i>
2	<i>orthis</i>	<i>orthowgh</i>	<i>ortis (chy), ort chy</i>	<i>ortho'(hwei), ort hei</i>
3	<i>orto (m.)</i> <i>orti (f.)</i>	<i>orta</i>	<i>orto, ort ev (m.)</i> <i>orti, ort hei (f.)</i>	<i>ortans, ort anjei</i>

The preposition **orth** and its conjugated forms may also be spelled with initial **w-** (**worth**, **worthiv**, **worthis**, etc.)

rag 'for'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>ragov</i>	<i>ragon</i>	<i>ragam, rag vy</i>	<i>ragon (nei)</i>
2	<i>ragos</i>	<i>ragowgh</i>	<i>ragos, rag chy</i>	<i>rago'(hwei), rag hwei</i>
3	<i>ragdho (m.)</i> <i>rygdhi (f.)</i>	<i>ragdha</i>	<i>ragto, rag ev (m.)</i> <i>rygdhi, rag hei (f.)</i>	<i>ragdhans, ragt'anjei,</i> <i>rag anjei</i>

ryb 'by, near'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>rybov</i>	<i>rybon</i>	<i>rybam</i>	—
2	<i>rybos</i>	<i>rybowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>rybdho (m.)</i> <i>rybdhi (f.)</i>	<i>rybdha</i>	—	<i>rybdhans</i>

war 'on, upon, above, over'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>warnav</i>	<i>warnan</i>	<i>warnam, wara vy</i>	<i>warnan (nei), wara nei</i>
2	<i>warnas</i>	<i>warnowgh</i>	<i>warnas (chy), wara chy</i>	<i>warno'(hwei), wara hwei</i>
3	<i>warnodho (m.)</i> <i>warnedhi (f.)</i>	<i>warnedha</i>	<i>warnodho, war ev (m.)</i> <i>warnedhi, war hei (f.)</i>	<i>warnedhans, war anjei</i>

yn 'in'

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>ynnov</i>	<i>ynnnon</i>	<i>ynnamm</i>	<i>ynnnon (nei)</i>
2	<i>ynnos</i>	<i>ynnnowgh</i>	<i>ynnos (chy)</i>	<i>ynno'(hwei)</i>
3	<i>ynno (m.)</i> <i>ynni (f.)</i>	<i>ynna</i>	<i>ynno, ytno, etto (m.)</i> <i>ynni, ydni (f.)</i>	<i>ynnans, ettans</i>

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yn-dann ~'dadn 'under'

RMC		RLC		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>yn-dannov</i>	<i>yn-dannon</i>	—	—
2	<i>yn-dannos</i>	<i>yn-dannowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>yn-danno (m.)</i> <i>yn-danni (f.)</i>	<i>yn-danna</i>	—	<i>y'dadnans</i>

Speakers who pre-occlude may write the forms given in the RMC column as **yn-dadnov**, **yn-dadnos**, etc.

yntra, ynter 'between'

RMC		RLC		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>yntredhov</i>	<i>yntredhon</i>	<i>yntredham</i>	—
2	<i>yntredhos</i>	<i>yntredhowgh</i>	—	—
3	<i>yntredho (m.)</i> <i>yntredhi (f.)</i>	<i>yntredha</i>	—	<i>yntredhans</i>

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